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887 house." She supplemented their supplies of vegetables from her own gar-
592 den from time to time, saying, "Daughter, cook this for our supper." She would also have a small private stock of dried meat that she had gotten by helping with its preparation during the hunt season, and she would also offer this at various times when it seemed a good idea. Again there was no regular schedule for this, nor any amount that was standard. Grandma already rendered considerable services to the house and was considered entitled to her "keep." She also gave substantive help with skin working, sewing, getting firewood, special manufacturing, and so on.

462 The young women and girls at the west stations did minor household
592 tasks, but had a far more significant contribution to make to its ongoing. They were there to please and care for a capable man who would protect
• 883 the people in the lodge, provide them with fresh meat by his almost daily hunting expeditions for deer, elk, or antelope, participate in the tribal buffalo hunts in the summer and winter each year so that they would all have dried buffalo meat, and carry on the official interrelationships with the community outside the household, including those with the village officials.

582 An influential and capable man might be given one of these girls in marriage with the understanding that her younger sisters would also be given to him when they came of age. If he were adjudged too old, the family was unlikely to agree to these further marriages. In the case of Old Bull, the family of his junior wife, Clear Day, was unwilling to give him her younger sister on this account. Fifteen years was considered a suitable age for marriage in a girl, and eighteen for a boy. However, the probability is remote that the couple would be of these ages respectively. First marriages for both a boy and a girl were almost always of a "May–September" type. A boy of eighteen was considered altogether incapable of playing a suitable married role in a household. A man contracted a mar-
583 riage in terms of services he could render to the family of the girl that he
591 married. Normally he was expected to come to live in her household and "take care of them," i.e., render them major services.

601 The son-in-law, i.e., the man married into a household, was known as *kustawixtsu*," the one that is sitting among [us]." The man on his part
606 referred to his in-laws as *tatutkaku*, "I sit inside for you," that is, "I am in the house for your benefit." The reward he receives is his wife whom he calls *tatiraktaku*, "I own her," and she in turn refers to her husband as *tikuktaku*, "he owns me." These terms are not normally used under informal circumstances, the couple addressing each other by the common term for spouse, *raku*, or if they are on particularly pleasant terms, the man calls his wife *tsustit*, "old lady," and she refers to her husband as *kurahus*, "old man."

58 Because of the services required on both sides, a young man would have little alternative but to marry a capable older woman, and a young

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and facetious. Displays of wit were quite common with both sexes, and often descended to mere *double entendre*. . . . Still the grotesque grouping and application of ideas was often quite entertaining: A nickname for a tall, slender person, *asu-katu-has-tawiu* ("shoe-shadow-string," shadow of a shoe string), or *karastiat* ("I will not go out"); *kusatsua* ("it will rain"). In reply, *A* ("well"), *uksawatsatsua* ("even if it were to rain"), *kaiit* ("salt"); *karas* ("are you?").

The boy had a more complicated social life in the community and types of friendship were likely to be more varied and more numerous than a girl's. The parents supervised the associations of the little boys in early childhood. The parents in prominent families did not allow their boys to play with children who had no mother or father to imbue them with right ideas, or whose parents were too ill-informed to do so. It was said of a poor boy who had no supervision that he played around the trash pile. Children that moved to a different part of the village seldom retained their former friends. In these early years, children were not very well versed in the use of kin terms, and if they were in a small group they would either use some kin terms for one another or no term of address at all. If the group included ten, twelve or more, they would use the simple names of childhood—Tiny, Little Eyes, Blacky, Whitey, etc.

From the ages of twelve to fifteen, the boys began to take the horses out to pasture and linger for some hours on the banks of the stream. Here more lasting friendships developed. When they reached the age of nineteen or twenty they began to do voluntary scout duty, watching for the enemy from the heights around the village and looking around the countryside for evidences of an attacking enemy. Then came war expeditions into enemy country and finally admission to one of the various Doctor Cults and in some cases, to the chiefs' council. In each of these contexts, special friendships developed or were cemented from previous occasions.

Sometimes a man would awaken in the night and start to sing, and the song would be taken up from house to house for a good part of the night. Scouts keeping watch would make a practice of singing through the night to let the enemy know that they were awake and watching. Some of these songs were religious, some from stories. One of these songs that was popular concerned the friendship of two young men. We do not know the story context from which it came, but the song itself concerns the thoughts of a young woman who noticed that there were two young men who went around everywhere together, traveling, hunting, and going on the warpath, and she wondered, "Will they always be true to each other? Will their friendship endure?" The following (Dunbar, 1881, p. 747) is the text (the first line being repeated six times):

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sirawari i They two who are traveling,
tskara, sirawari i-a-a-a-a Alone, they two who are traveling,
tsapat-i witiwaku A young woman, it is said that she says:
sikatasiwaktiks-a I wonder if they two are true (to each other).

tskara, sirawari-i-a-a-a-a-a

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By the time the boys had reached their teens, it was impossible for their parents to keep close watch on their associations, and friendships not uncommonly grew up between boys of different social status. At this time, a young boy of a chief's family might gain a retainer or a lifelong ally from among the commoners. There is a story told (Dorsey, 1906, pp. 46-50) of the rise of a poor boy who made friends with two boys of wealthy families: A poor boy came down from the north and met the son of a chief and the son of a medicine man. The two wealthy boys liked the poor boy very much and followed his leadership. The poor boy suggested that they each learn all about his father's ways, and finally the three set out traveling over the country. In the course of their travels they came upon a small group of Sioux tents which they attacked, killing the men and sparing the women. It appeared that the women were not too well satisfied with their late husbands, so they readily acquiesced to be taken over by the three boys. Eventually the women and children were taught to speak Pawnee, and the boys continued with similar exploits until the group had increased in numbers considerably. Then one of the boys stole into the village and got seeds for planting the crops. At last the poor boy induced the other two to declare him chief of them all, while the former chief's son was to assume the role of priest of their sacred bundle and the son of the medicine man was to minister to their health. Thus, the story goes, through the friendship of these three boys a new village was founded. It is not clear whether this story is told to induce boys to follow a similar course or whether it actually had some historical basis. Opinions differ on this issue and some think the story accounts for the founding of one or the other of the bands, others believe it refers to the founding of the Arikara, while still others hold that it is simply a mandate for boys to form firm friendships so that they may work together for their future.

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Within the group there was little room for comradery among the mature Pawnee men. Their visiting back and forth was formally structured within the house even when only two were sitting together. First there would be the offering to the powers above and below with the pipe, then a smoking together, and—only then—either a simple conversation or business. This sequence of events was inevitably followed by a woman serving some food, in which case it became mandatory for the conversation to become light and mildly humorous. This skeleton

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*224 571 [648] fresh meat by hunting deer and antelope right nearby. Let's go to Columbus."

Near Columbus they were reasonably secure from Sioux attack and they would build a big lodge of tin or sheet iron, and a man and his wife who happened to stay would take over the direction of the party, while the others would assist, running it like a village household. They would run a common commissary and the men would go out hunting for antelope and deer while the women would supply the dry vegetables and cook the meals, alternating on the north and the south sides.

*224 • 883 [866] Once the seventeen-year-old son of White Eagle decided he didn't feel like coming along. "He might decide that it was a good thing for him to get used to being by himself. This was an idea that their grandfathers would inculcate into them saying, 'Now you're old enough to go on the warpath, be a horse thief, and be independent.' White Eagle tried to talk to him saying, 'Now we're going hunting. You come along.' 'No,' the boy said, 'I'm going over there to my uncle.' 'All right, if you want to, but now they're going to talk about me and say that White Eagle didn't take his boy.' 'Well, I'm going to stay with my uncle anyway.' So White Eagle would take a poor orphan boy who had been staying in his earth lodge along with him on the hunt instead of his recalcitrant son." It seems that adolescent protest was not unknown to the Pawnees. On the other [593] hand, his father was in no position either to force him or to exert pressure for him to go. He was considered entirely within his rights to make his own decision.

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ages tied to the sides of the horses would get wet. Then the question was, "Was the water on the rise, or was it going down?" People said if it were warm on Pike's Peak in the Rockies, the water level would soon be low. In order to find out whether the river was rising or subsiding, the women would set up a stick in it; if the river was rising, it would soon be covered over, or vice versa if falling. They also knew that if the river was muddy soon after getting a bucket of clear water, it was rising. The men, on the other hand, were inclined to be more impulsive and didn't bother with such observations; they simply forded the river. If the river was rising, they would have to change their plan and continue west along the north bank of the Platte until it subsided. This time they were able to cross directly. The crossing was over the western end of Grand Island, the largest of the "sand-bar islands" in the Platte. In winter it was a good place to camp, but in summer it was full of mosquitoes. Grandma would have arrived long ago and gone onto the island to pick plums and grapes. The channel is wider and shallower on the north side of the island and deeper and narrower on the south side. The island itself is five or six miles wide.

When they were ready to cross, some young men volunteers who were from eighteen to twenty years old would go ahead and stake out the path with willow sticks to show where the deep holes were. If there was a steep sand bank on either side, they would chop at it with a buffalo shoulder blade and kick it down so that there would be a sloping path for the horses. Sometimes on the return journey in August the river bed would be dry, and in this way they came to know the best way to ford the river. A group of young men of this sort would volunteer for all sorts of services, including picket duty. They always carried their bows and arrows and were constantly on the alert to see if the enemy were coming on the warpath. Sometimes as the years passed, they would continue in this way, remaining as a group even after they had become mature men. Such a group was that of Roaming Leader and his friends who had gone out on the buffalo-scouting expedition that day.

When the line of march finally got across the river, they climbed ashore and up the first bank which was relatively steep and then the second bank that had a more gentle slope. They continued west along the high bank for about two miles until they came to the place where they planned to camp.

By about four or four-thirty in the afternoon they were all encamped. A man was out taking care of his horses, and as he looked onto the horizon he happened to sight Roaming Leader and his party, silhouetted against the sky, coming over some sand hills about two miles off. From their outline against the sky, he could see that the horses were all bulging out with meat and the legs of the riders were sticking far out as they sat on top of the packs. As they rode he could also see the hides swing-